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AUTHOR	Lewis, Karla
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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the education in Belize (formerly known as British Honduras) during the colonial era and the lasting impact of the educational foundation of the country. The paper examines the influence the British colonial educational system continues to have in Belize, 20 years after independence. It gives an overview of the history of primary and secondary education in Belize. Although education existed in Belize well before the arrival of the British colonizers and developed among various cultures during colonization, these are not highlighted in the paper because of the limited impact they had on Belize in general once school attendance became compulsory. Contains 92 references. (BT)

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Colonial Education: A History of Education in Belize

Karla Lewis
Educational Policy Studies
University of Illinois at Urbana – Champaign
AERA 2000 Presentation
New Orleans, LA
Kc-lewis@uiuc.edu
4/21/00

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The title of the presentation is vague and could be deceiving. Although the presentation discusses the education in Belize (formerly known as British Honduras) during the colonial era, this presentation also begins to show the lasting impact of the educational foundation of the country. This presentation, because of time limitations, gives an overview of the history of primary and secondary education in Belize. Although education in Belize existed well before the arrival of the British and developed among various cultures during colonization, those will not be highlighted because of the limited impact they had on Belize in general once school became compulsory.

Colony/ Colonial/Colonialism/ Colonization

Defining colonization can be difficult, depending on one's perspective. The following are definition's that I found relevant to the context of education and Belize. The first definition comes from a Belize history primer and describes the wide reach of colonization. The second definition ties the notion of colonization to the U.S. educational system. Ladson- Billings (1998) takes the stereotypical phrase and applies it to a non-so-called third world context, while retaining the obvious harm colonization does to a people.

Colonialism is a system of external domination. Under colonialism, all aspects of a society – economic, social, cultural – are controlled by another country. (A History of Belize: Nation in the Making. (1983). Belize: Sunshine Books)

Gloria Ladson-Billings (1998) discusses the two common notions of the term "colonial"

> The term "colonial" generally has two references in the United States context. On one hand it conjures the romantic notions of the revolutionary spirit of the early European (primarily English) settlers who steadfastly abhorred English taxes and rule without the benefit of representation. From that notion of colonial we generated a particular view of history, architecture, city planning, and décor. The other notion of colonial extant in the United States is the more sinister, malevolent pattern of conquest and imperialism perpetrated by European powers on so-called third world nations in Asia, Africa, and parts of the Americas. This notion, perhaps no less romantic, evokes pictures of black – and brown- skinned men attired in European style military garb, while their children wear school uniforms and study for an English and French designed high school entrance exam. (p.247)

Objective

There has been little work on education in Belize (Bennett, 1972, 1979, Lundgren, 1992, Shoman, A. , 1994, and Shoman, K., 1991); most of the research has been anthropological in nature (Gmelch, 1992, Gonzalez, 1988, Kerns, 1983, Levine, 1987, Sanford, 1971, and Wilk & Chapin, 1990). However, there has been extensive work on colonization (Altbach & Kelly, 1978, Ashcraft, 1973, Fanon, 1967, Gordon, 1997, Magubane, 1979, Memmi, 1965).Twenty years ago, Bennett (1979) discussed the need to reevaluate the educational system, and his work needs to be revisited. Bennett (1979) states, "It (the decolonization process) must enable us to develop our own national philosophy of education and give us confidence that working together we can equip our youth to play constructive roles in Belizean development" (p.23). Those sentiments are still relevant today, because many Belizean youth are not fully able to participate in Belize's social and economic development because of a lack of educational opportunity.

Belize's Origins

Belize is surrounded North by Mexico, West and South by Guatemala, and East by the Caribbean Sea. Belize is the least densely settled of the Central American nations. Officially known as British Honduras until 1973, Belize has historically been regarded as a West Indian nation in a Hispanic region. Therefore, subject to both the political, economic, social and ideological issues of both cultures, West Indian and Latin. The population consists of Creoles (descendants of the British settler's and/ or African slaves), Spanish, Maya (indigenous peoples), Carib (descendants of the Carib Indians and/ or Africans), Mestizo, Mennonites, Lebanese, East Indians, Chinese and whites.

Before the arrival of the Spanish and the British, Belize was part of a Mayan civilization that had spread throughout the Central American region. Belize became a Spanish colonial holding because Spain had claimed sovereignty over the entire New World, except for the regions in South America assigned to Portugal. However, the Spanish could never occupy the interior of the land or assimilate the Maya peoples. British settlers, called the Baymen (who were really ex-pirates), eventually settled near the mouth of the Belize River in the mid-1600s. (Taylor, 1949) They had shipwrecked in the bay on their way from Jamaica in 1638. More Baymen would arrive after the British captured Jamaica from Spain in 1655. Spain and Britain were rivals and periodically the Spanish would expel the Baymen from Belize. Eventually, the indigenous peoples made a treaty with Britain in 1739 giving them Honduras. In 1763 under the Treaty of Paris, Spain granted the British the right to cut timber and occupy the territory. The British were also allowed to bring African slaves, but they were not allowed to build permanent settlements, which affected the population until the nineteenth century. (Grant, 1976) In exchange, the settlers would recognize Spanish sovereignty over the region. The Treaty of Versailles in 1783 confirmed the boundaries and the logwood industry. However the Spanish continued to attack the settlement, until the settlers and African slaves with assistance from the British Navy defeated them in 1798. The Battle of St. George's Caye is still celebrated on September 10th of every year. A treaty settled the boundaries of Belize with Guatemala in 1859 (which is still being contested by the Guatemalan government) and with Nicaragua in 1860. (King, 1955, p.3) The settlers of Belize were self-governing, and managed by the Jamaican government. After two hundred and thirty

years of occupation Belize became the official "Crown Colony" of British Honduras in 1871. In 1884 all the administrative connections with Jamaica were severed.

The British abolished the importation of slaves in 1807. Slaves were emancipated throughout the British Empire in 1838. (A history of Belize: Nation in the making. (1983), p.38) The slave owners in the colonies were compensated at 20,000,000 pounds (Wesley, 1932) and the slaves got freedom. Hammond (1946) states, "The French colonies followed suit in 1848 and the Dutch in 1863, abolition in these dependent territories thus preceding abolition in the principal independent territories of the Western world in which slavery existed" (p.428). Although slavery was abolished, it did not mean that the former slaves were treated as equal citizens, in fact attempts were made to "keep them in there place" by limiting access to jobs outside of the logwood and mahogany industry.

On September 21, 1981, Belize gained its independence from Great Britain. However, its educational system was still based on the British colonial model. It was a model that did not want to educate the colonized, especially ethnic minorities within the colony. It was a model that limited access to secondary education and lacked true educational opportunity, even though it claimed to assist in social mobility. What I try to do in this paper is look at the history of education in Belize during the rule of the British and the influence it continues to have, twenty years after independence.

Methodology

As a Belizean and a Garinagu (also known as Carib, descended from African slaves and Carib Indians), this paper cannot be "value-free"; as a researcher I cannot be neutral or distant. (Gluck and Patai, 1991) Moss (1996) states, "...no neutral framework exists against which we can evaluate competing theories—such frameworks are always historically and culturally situated (e.g. Baynes, Bohman, and McCarthy, 1991; Bernstein, 1985, 1992; Greene, 1994)" (p.27). I acknowledge my multiple identities in engaging in this research. Belize is my birthplace and the home of my family for generations, as well as Guatemala, Honduras, and Costa Rica. I do not claim that only I can tell this story, however, I feel it is a voice that has not been heard. (Lather, 1986) It is the voice of Belizean-American who is Creole (Black descendants of the early White settlers and/ or African slaves), Garinagu, and female.

The initial data for this presentation came from an earlier project on the influences on Garifuna youth's education. During that time I interviewed adolescents and adults in three major Belizean cities over the course of three years. During my earlier project I realized that the issues facing the youths today were rooted in a system that never wanted them to "succeed". The theoretical framework lies in the theory of social reproduction. The British used education to reproduce the social, economic and political structure by denying access to education and when access was not denied, used the curriculum to maintain the country's social stratification. At the secondary level access was denied through the use of British exams and lack of financial assistance to the schools (unless

students passed the Cambridge exam, then it was only a "bonus") and families. The schools taught the ideology of meritocracy, however, that was not the reality.

The sources used in this presentation are: archival material, government reports, surveys, the United Nations database, newspapers, journal articles and texts. The British government and its various non-governmental alliances (i.e. Royal Bank of Canada) have collected the most accessible archival material. Therefore, there are some inherent biases in the data. Although the colonial reports became more reliable after World War I, it was not until the establishment in 1946 of UNESCO that the data collected on education in Belize became more substantial.

History of Education in Belize

Some would say the role of a colonial government is to assist in the development, both human and material, of their colony. (Hammond, 1946) However, if one looks at the definition of "colonialism", there exists an explicit mission to exploit the colony for the "mother" country. Belize is the perfect example of a colony because while the British were draining the natural resources, they continued to be disappointed in the underpopulation of the country and the lack of capital. Although, there were indigenous schools, it is difficult to document because no records were available. (Benavot & Riddle, 1988, p. 197) However, we do know that the Mayans had an advanced civilization that reached its peak between A.D. 250 and 900. The Mayans also made advances in astronomy, mathematics, writing and the arts. The following is an overview of the history of education in Belize. The first section discusses the influence of religion because the schools are managed by the churches and funded primarily by the

government. The second section discusses the period of settlement by the British, during this time Belize was officially managed by the Jamaican (British) government, but the settlers were essentially self-governing. The final section discusses education in Belize after it became a "Crown Colony" of Great Britain.

Influence of Religion

Like other schools in the British Empire, education was a missionary effort. (Bennett, 1979, King, 1955, Wesley, 1932) The Catholic Church took a central role because of the immigration of Yucatan Mayans and mestizos from the Caste War. Jesuits had also come to the Belize settlement to assist the new British settlers. In 1894 the Jesuits no longer reported to British superiors, the new superiors were from Missouri (U.S.A.).

The British settlers were not concerned about social services for the majority of the population. The Catholic Church decided to provide the services needed to the non-British settlers and built hospitals and schools. The churches were given latitude in deciding the policies and goals for the schools. The policies were usually focused on literacy with a dominance of religious training for the masses and a focus on secondary education for the middle and upper classes. (Bennett, 1979) Towards the end of the 18th century there began a concern for the spirituality of the African slaves, naturally that concern spread into the educational arena. King (1955) states, " The churches were the first to recognize and act upon the need for the extension of some form of education to the masses of the people" (p.3). The churches met the basic needs of the people and only

later did the government begin to provide monetary assistance to these denominational schools. The British government in 1833 made the first grant for education in the Caribbean colonies. (King, 1955, p.3) King states that in 1840 the British government gave the grants directly to the denominations providing the schools, instead of allocating the funds to the local government to distribute.

The religious organizations took it upon themselves to establish a clear educational policy when a group of clergy met in 1923 to discuss colonial education. This group of clergy formed the Committee for Education in African Colonies. The Committee advised the Colonial Office and gave them a list of goals and policies for colonial education. (Bennett, 1979) The 1937 Colonial Report (1938) describes Belize's educational system, "The system of elementary education is that of subsidized denominational church schools, and is controlled by a Board of Education appointed under the Education Ordinance, 1926 (No. 14 of 1926 as amended by No. 38 of 1935)" (p.21). The Board of Education was comprised of the clergy. These schools represented a church-state institution in that the goals were also reflective of the colony's goals. The goals were to maintain a society divided by occupation, race and class. The goals were to make sure that the people understood that the whites, the merchants and the landowners were in control. Schools in Belize like elsewhere in the world, were transmitters of the social order. Students were taught the virtues of hard work, social order and obedience, the Protestant Ethic. (Bolland, 1988, p.159) Students learned about Britain and Europe, not about Belize and the Caribbean. The primary teaching method involved rote learning instead of critical thinking.

An interesting note in the influence of religion lay in Black nuns. Miss Henriette Delille, a "free woman of color", founded the Sisters of the Holy Family in New Orleans, Louisiana in 1842. (Rector, 1982, p. 244) One of the three schools they opened between 1867 and 1900 was in Belize. In total they were responsible for four schools in Belize. They opened Sacred Heart in 1898, Holy Angels operated from 1952 to 1978, Austin High, now Ecumenical High opened in Dangriga (then known as Stann Creek) in 1953, and Holy Ghost operated from 1964 to 1978. They also operated Regina Coeli in Compton, California were many Belizean immigrants in the Los Angeles area attended. These nuns played an integral part in their student's lives. These Black nuns were the role models for many young women who then aspired to be teachers and nuns, or teachers.

The Settlement Years: 1638 – 1870

When the British gained control in the West Indies little thought was given to education until the establishment of a British government in Jamaica in 1663. The Carib had been deported in 1797 by the British from St. Vincent to Roatan off the Central American coast; and began to settle along the Southern coast of Belize. There was an influx in the northern districts by mestizo and Mayans seeking refuge from the Caste War in Mexico's Yucatan peninsular. Following the abolition of slavery, a small number of East Indian and Chinese indentured laborers arrived in Belize.

The rise of the importance of education as an avenue for occupational mobility did not occur in isolation. (Cross, 1979, p. 122) Previous to end of slavery the British had taken large tracts of Belize for free, but they did not want the former slaves to benefit from the "free" land grants. The British settlers wanted to keep the ex-slaves from

working their own land and providing for their families. But, Creole parents did not want their children to be forced to work in mahogany gangs; therefore, they saw education as a way to gain access to other occupations. However, the educational system prepared a majority of children for the values acceptable to Europeans and North Americans. The students with privileged backgrounds (i.e. whites, mulatto's, middle –class, and upper-class) were educated for secondary and higher education.

School Management

During slavery, the mulatto children of the white settlers were often sent to England to be educated (Wesley, 1932). When the children stayed in Belize they were educated privately. Generally, slave owners did not want slaves to be educated and saw it as a "dangerous instrument" (Samaroo, 1991, p. 514). Bennett (1979) states, " The recorded history of education in Belize commenced in 1816 when a small school was set up for the elementary schooling of poor children in the Settlement" (p. 19). The Honduras Free School, founded by the Church of England, was financial supported by donations from the people and some public funds. The school was managed by His Majesty's Superintendent (the officer administering the government), seven magistrates, and benefactors who gave more than 10 pounds annually (Shoman, K. , 1991, p.33).

The aided schools were founded and operated by various religious denominations. The aided schools would report their enrollment, attendance and administrative costs, and the government would give them a grant. Although school was free, there was a nominal fee. The government only had one school during this period, Honduras Free (Grammar) School. The other schools were classified as unaided (private), because they did not

receive any funding from the government. The parents absorbed the expenses at these schools. The majority of students who attended the aided schools were Creole's. The children of the British settlers received a private education in unaided schools.

Overall, advancements continued to be made in education. The 1868 report written by Lieutenant Governor Longden states, "In 1850, an Act was passed "to provide additional schools for the benefit of every denomination of Christians", and to "to make regulations for the government of such schools, and of the Honduras Grammar School" (p. 22). This Act allowed for the Honduras Grammar School to become a "free" school. The government also committed itself to a board of education and the allotment of grants for the schools.

Primary and Secondary Education

During this period, the most important education a child could receive was primary school, because most would not have the opportunity to receive a secondary education. That was true in the 18th c., 19th c., as well as now. The government did not see a need for compulsory schooling because of the lack of motivation by the "subjects". The British model begins with a primer class and then continues with six standards. Secondary school was not an option for most children; exams had to be taken to enter a secondary institution.

Teacher Training

There was definitely a need for teacher training. In 1855, an Act was passed that required the "head master and mistress" to be certified teachers from a school in Britain. The qualification was abolished in 1863. The government officials admitted that they

were being sent unqualified teachers, but there was no effort made to form their own teacher training institute.

Crown Colony Era: 1871 – 1980

Education played a large role in bringing people on the margins into Belize society. The number of schools rose significantly during the 1880's and schools were able to be found throughout the colony, even those without road access. The period preceding and during World War II emphasized the need for self-reliance. (Hammond, 1946) Faced with a depression and starvation without a lack of foreseeable assistance from abroad, as well as the sentiments from those who had been hired to work on the Panama Canal and in the American South, there was a cry for change. The people believed in education and it's promise of opportunity. Although the infrastructures were supposed to be worked on, there were no materials available from Britain because of the war. After World War II there was a demand for "modern" education (Benavot & Riddle, 1988, p.204). The 1950's nationalist movement encouraged the government to increase the expenditures for education. There was also another addition to the population's diverse landscape by the arrival of Lebanese, Palestinians, and Syrian Arabs who were fleeing the political unrest in the Middle East. Economic havoc occurred after Hurricane Hattie on October 31st 1961. The country went through a period of rebuilding, which also helped reinforce the commitment to education with additional expenditures to rebuild.

School Management

Compulsory schooling with exceptions became law in 1915 in Belize. In 1930 Britain had the most "colonies" at 38 and provided the highest level of primary education except for the U.S. with 3 "colonies". (Benavot & Riddle, 1988, p.203) Benavot and Riddle (1988) state, "In fact, the average enrollment level attained in the French colonies in 1940 was about the same as had been attained in the British colonies 50 years earlier" (p.203). Although there were schools in the colonies and enrollment was at 70% of the school age population, attendance varied. Schools were predominantly denominational, but the clergy's power was limited in the early 1960's when educational policy was put solely in the hands of the Minister of Education (Bennett, 1979, p.21). A significant report was made by Mr. B.H. Easter, Director of Education, Jamaica which would eventually alter the educational system of the colony (1935 Annual Report, 1936, p.17).

During the Crown Colony era, Belize significantly increased its educational expenditures, as well as expanded the opportunities for higher education. In 1879 14 schools received 1, 440 pound in funds. In 1930, only 3.3% of the country's budget went to education, in 1951, it was about 8%. In the 1970's about 17% of the budget was used for education. (A history of Belize: Nation in the making, 1983, p.61) By the early 1960's students were awarded government scholarships to study at the University of the West Indies and to universities in England. By the late 1970's higher education had been established (BELCAST) in Belize and expanded.

Primary and Secondary Education

During the late 1870's and 1880's there were 14 schools in the country. The daily attendance was approximately 1,000 children. The government officials thought that the

examinations would motivate some schools to compete, because additional funds were available to schools whose students passed the British examinations. While the school age population was 9,826 children, only 2,310 were enrolled in 1884. The 1884 annual report written by Governor R.T. Goldsworthy states, "This result, though far from satisfactory, is, to a certain extent, to be accounted for by the peculiar circumstances of the Colony, the mixture of races, Hispano, Indians, Carib, and Negro, the want for internal communication, and other causes; but I am of opinion that the time has not yet arrived for compulsory legislation on the subject" (p.38). By his 1889 report, Goldworthy stated that enrollment had increased to 2,580 students and two additional schools had opened.

The early 1900's represented an increase in enrollment, but the same low attendance by school aged children. The Annual reports state that some of the low attendance was due to access; if a child did not live in a town or larger village on the coast or a river, they were unable to attend school. Other issues, were the lack of adequate buildings and furniture. The 1903 Colonial Report mentions the need for grants to assist these schools. Also, was the need for bilingual teachers to teach the Mayan children; the teacher would need to know the Mayan dialect (there are several), some Spanish and would have to teach in English. By the end of the 1920's there were 75 primary schools throughout the country and 6 secondary schools in Belize City. Although, the word secondary is used, it does not mean the students were receiving a secondary curriculum.

During the last fifty years of British rule, increased attention was paid to education. By the late 1930's there were 70 grant- aided schools and 25 private schools.

Children who were poor were provided meals at school. Secondary education was provided at 5 schools in Belize City: St. Johns College (est. 1896), St. Hilda's College (est. 1897), St. Catherine's Academy (est. 1883), Wesley College (est. 1888), and St. Michael's College (est. 1900). By the late 1940's there were 88 grant – aided schools enrolling 11, 298 students. The number of private schools had decreased to 23, with an enrollment of 883 students. These unaided schools were very small and there is little information as to where they were located and who attended them. However, it can be safely assumed that the students attending them were from the middle and upper class. The secondary schools stayed the same at 5 with 618 enrolled. By the late 1950's there were 116 grant aided and two government-run primary schools with an enrollment of 19,532. In addition, there were 32 unaided primary schools with an enrollment of 1,680 students. There were nine secondary schools with 1, 457 students. (The Colonial Office List 1961, p. 80) By the late 1960's there were 133 grant-aided primary schools (including the two government-run), 24 private primary schools, 15 secondary schools, as well as a school for handicapped children. The total enrollment for primary schools was 26,322 students.

Secondary education was modeled after that in the United Kingdom. This system provided an opportunity for social mobility, but did not meet the needs of all the people. The amount of students attending secondary schools in Belize has always been low, because most students never finish primary school. Therefore, the eligible population is small. Also, access to secondary education and higher education in Belize was restricted, due to finances. The secondary schools did not receive government grants unless they had students who passed the Cambridge (British) examinations. Although some schools did

provide scholarships, it was up to the student's family to pay for tuition, books and uniforms. These British exams not only determined if you could receive a scholarship to study at a university, but entry into public service and other jobs. Eventually, the Belize government realized these disparities caused because of a lack of access and began to offer scholarships.

Curriculum

Belizean history was not taught in schools. Heusner (1987) states, ".. the way in which people learned about the history of Belize was mainly through the stories told by the older generations" (p. 6). Students were prepared for the Cambridge examinations, which required a classical British curriculum. The focus of which was on literacy. The educational materials, including the textbooks were either from England or the United States, which means that the books had nothing to do with being Belizean.

The period between 1920 and 1940 marked an interest in a variety of curriculums. Towards the end of the 1920' s technical education began to be mentioned in the various reports. However, there was no provision made for such a curriculum. However, there was a Government Industrial School in Stann Creek Valley were agriculture and farming became the focus. St. John's College began to offer evening "commercial courses". By 1937 the Carnegie Corporation of New York had sent three school supervisors trained in the Jeanes system. The Jeanes system would help people adapt from village schools to rural life. Eventually, a technical high school (government-run) was opened in Belize City January 1952 as the result of a Colonial Development and Welfare Grant.

Teacher Training

Bennett (1972), Palacio (1972) and Rosado (1990) have addressed the history of teacher education in Belize from 1853 to 1964. Beginning in the settlement era there was a concern for the training of the colony's teachers. Most of the teachers were missionaries from the United States or sent from England. Many other teachers were really apprentices. The 1926 – 7 Yearbook states that there were certified teachers, but that they did not have any "normal training", and were therefore unsatisfactory. (p. 337) Some training began to occur in 1937 (during the evening and sponsored by the Government), but in 1954 the Teachers Training College opened in Belize City. (Shoman, K., 1991, p. 7) By 1964 there were three teacher training institutions: The Intermediate Training Center, The Government St. George's Training College and the Roman Catholic St. John's Teachers' College. In 1965 there were combined as the Belize Teachers' College and given the responsibility of teacher education for the whole country. From 1965 to 1980 the teacher education program increased from one year to three years. During this period other options for teacher education and higher education became available through the opening of the University of the West Indies in Jamaica.

This period marked an increase all facets of education, enrollment, attendance, expenditures, school buildings, secondary education and teachers. The people went from completely trusting in the government and churches, to demanding their right for a "modern education". The churches have been praised for educating the masses, but their shortcomings have also been noticed. It's difficult to unify an educational system, when it is divided among religious lines. Belizeans also recognized the different types of

education being received; middle and upper class children got better grades and passed the Cambridge examinations at higher rates, than poor children. (Shoman, K., 1991, p.16) At the end of the "colonial" era there was still a belief in the educational system as a means of mobility and the people of Belize began to make progress in improving access to secondary education, agricultural education, industrial education, as well as higher education for all children.

Conclusion

Although the focus of this presentation has been on the British "colonial" education in Belize, the U.S. also played a "colonial" role. The British government realized the American influence on Belize in the mid-1930's. The British Governor of Belize, Sir Alan Burns wrote

> The whole colony is, however, largely influenced by the comparative proximity of the U.S. and the people as a whole are more American than British in their outlook. This may be due to a limited extent to the cinema, but is more directly attributable to the influence of trade and education. (A History of Belize, p. 64)

Sir Alan Burns sentiments are still relevant in Belize. It is not surprising that the influence of the U.S. existed in Belize; most of the missionaries who established the schools were from the America. The missionaries educated more than half the population of Belize and continue to do so. Hammond (1946) states, "Forms of education which lead them away from their environment produce in those who cannot leave it a sense of frustration" (p.437). As stated previously, Belizeans were educated for a subordinate role, but with meritocratic ideologies as the foundation.

There has been a pattern of underdevelopment in Belize, due to its status as a colony. Like other colonies Belize was controlled by Britain, which controlled the nations capital, land and labor, among other things. Belize did not produce logwood and mahogany for itself; these products were for the European market. Because the economy relied heavily on mahogany export, there was little else to do but become a mahogany worker. There were few jobs outside of that industry, and the whites and light-skinned elite, British and native, held the better paying jobs for themselves. Bodinheimer (1971) in "Dependency and imperialism: The roots of Latin American underdevelopment" states, "It has been shown in a number of studies that foreign investment by the U.S. and other industrial nations in underdeveloped areas has resulted in a net outflow of capital from the underdeveloped to the developed nations, a decapitalization of the former" (p.157). While Western Europe and the U.S. industrialized, Latin America was an exporter of raw materials and agricultural products. (Bodinheimer, p.159) Therefore Belize became dependent on Britain and the U.S. for products they needed. (Reid, 1941) In 1949, over 70% of Belize's imports came from the U.S. By 1981, over 35.4% of the imports came from the U.S. and 60.8% of the exports went to the U.S.

Belize has an economic system that it does not control. The economic system necessitates people to leave and look for work outside the community. The combination of parents leaving and the influx of American products and ideology leave the adolescent in a state of confusion. Instead of making sure opportunities are available for all youth within the country, for some it seems that the opportunities only exist in the United States. Mullens, Murnane, and Willett (1996) state, "In an attempt to promote economic growth, the government places a high priority on providing its citizens with a sound

foundation of basic education. In Belize, "basic education" means attendance at primary school since only 50 percent of students continue their education past eighth grade. Thus, while primary school is a stepping - stone to further schooling or job training for half of the citizens in Belize, it is the full extent of formal education for the rest" (p.146). Colonization no longer exists in Belize, but the lasting effects of its presence are visible.

Moving Beyond Colonialism

The following quotations move us beyond colonialism, however, they have not come into fruition. Bennett (1979) and Heusner (1987) want Belizeans to be proud of who they are and where they are from.

> Heusner (1987) states, "They do no reject their colonial heritage but view it as a lengthy struggle for the possession of a territory – a territory which belongs to them because they were born, worked, fought, and died for it. For Belizeans, the colonial period was not a mere commercial system or venture as it was for the British Crown but was a collective experience which, for better or worse, forever changed the way in which they saw themselves and their society" (p.9).

> Bennett (1979) states, "...whereas the educated product of the colonial educational system looked to the mother country for his ideals and values as well as for training, the decolonisation process must help to build pride in our own country and what it holds for us" (p.23).

As Belize tries to move forth, there is still an element that cannot let go of the past. However, holding on to the past limits the opportunities for the future generations.

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